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Vastupala, the Great Minister of Gujarat.

BY

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IN the long range of the Jaina ministers and generals, Vastupala is perhaps the most interesting figure. His wonderful personality stands forth unrivalled in all its glory and greatness evoking admiration of every one who cares to go through the record of his life. He appears to have been a wise statesman, a valiant soldier, an ardent lover of art and an enthusiastic adorer of the divine muse. His charity knew no limit and his generosity recognised no distinction. Though himself a Jaina, he favoured all sects and creeds and even built mosques for the Mahomedans the much-despised *Mlechchhas* of the thirteenth century[1].

Vastupala came of a distinguished Pragvata (Porward) family of Anhilwad-Patan. His ancestors had been councillors to the Kings of Gujarat. His father Asvaraja married a young beautiful widow named Kumaradevi who bore him four sons Luniga[2] Malladeva, Vastupala and Tejahpala and seven daugh-

1 Dalal and Shastry, Naranarayananda, Introd. p. 1.

2. Luniga died in infancy. Malladeva also seems to have died young.

ters. Asvaraja was a devoted husband, a loving father and a dutiful son. He took his aged mother seven times in a palanquin to the holy Mts. Satrunjaya and Girnar and there is epigraphic evidence to show that during two of his pilgrimages he made one in A.D. 1193 (Vik. Sam. 1249) and the other in A.D. 1194 Vastupala was also with the party. He evinced deep interest in the works of public utility and sank wells, excavated tanks and built temples. On his death, Kumaradevi removed to a petty village, Mandli, where with motherly care she looked after the training and education of her children, the future support of the family.

Vastupala was married to Lalitadevi [1] while Tējahpala had Anupama [2] to wife. According to Merutunga, Anupama, though a plain-looking damsel was possessed of great virtues of the head and the heart and exercised considerable influence over her husband.

The Vaghela Kingdom was built on the ruins of the Chaulukya empire. Bhima II, (A. D. 1178-1241) proved an imbecile ruler. Under him, the Chaulukya government which had lost its old vigour and power of cohesion was rapidly going down to pieces. It was a period of disruption. The authority of the king was disputed by his over-powerful vassals and his word carried no weight. He no doubt enjoyed the semblance of royalty but the actual power had long departed from his sceptre. While Bhima was struggling to restore his supremacy in the north, Lavanaprasada established himself practically as an independent ruler at Dholka extending his sway over the country between the Sabarmati and the Narbada in the south as well as over the districts of Dholka and Dhandhuka. The usurper, so far as we know always professed to be a viceregent of his liege lord and sovereign, the emperor of Anhilwad-Pattan and was never in open rebellion against him. As a prudent man, he cared more for the substance than for the shadow. His attitude towards Bhima may be compared to that of the British

1. She survived her husband. 2. Died during the life-time of her husband.

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Dewan—the East India Company—towards the Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam.

After the death of their mother, the brothers emerged out of their seclusion in search of employment. They were succesful in their quest and as Vastupala himself puts it accepted the dependence of Bhima's minister. Later on their services were put at the disposal of Viradhavala and consequently, the brothers took their residence at Dholka. In A.D. 1220 (Vik. Sam. 1276) they were appointed as chief ministers. They proved themselves able administrators and prudent statesmen. "This power and confidence" observes the late Mr. Dalal "were not ill-placed. The contributions of these two brothers who were valiant warriors and who possessed statesmanship of a very high order, to the expansion of the Kingdom and power of Viradhavala were very great. It was a great fortune of the Vaghelas that they got two such able statesmen to lay the foundation of their Kingdom which, however, came to a very early end, mainly on account of narrow-minded selfish ministers devoid of the love of the motherland."[1]

"Under Vastupala" says one of his contemporaries "low people ceased to earn money by base means; the wicked turned pale; the righteous prospered. All honestly and securely plied their calling. Vastupala put down piracy and by building platforms stopped the mingling of castes in milk shops. He repaired old buildings, planted trees, sank wells, laid out parks and rebuilt the city. All castes and creeds, he treated alike."

In those days, Cambay was the chief port of Gujarat. It was wrested by Viradhavala from the chiefs of Latadesa and Vastupala was sent as its governor. Under his sympathetic and enlightened rule, the port rapidly regained its lost splendour and the people were happy and prosperous. While Viradhavala was engaged in quelling the insurrection of the Marwar chiefs Sankha, the chief of Baroach, made an attempt to recapture the lost port but his forces were totally routed by Vastupala who personally took part in the combat.

1 Dalal, Vasantavilasa, introd. XV.

As a statesman, Vastupala was endowed with a rare gift of foresight and prudence. Altmash, (A. D. 1211-36) the then King of Delhi had chalked out an ambitious scheme of establishing Mahomedan superemacy all over India. One day Vastupala received information that the armies of the King of Delhi were on their march to invade Mewar, Marwar and Gujarat. At the same time news came that Viradhavala's old enemy Simhana (A. D. 1169-1247) the King of Deogiri contemplated an invasion of Southern Gujarat and that with this end in view, he had entered into an alliance with Sankha who was anxious to get back Cambay. It was a critical situation full of anxiety for the young power of Viradhavala. By a deep diplomatic move Vastupala won over Sankha to his side and Simhana had to abandon his contemplated invasion. Having thus made his position secure, he formed a coalition with the chiefs of Marwar against the approaching Mahomedan menace. Jaitrasimha, the chief of Mewar, however, refused to join the confederacy. The allies took their position near Mt. Abu anticipating the approach of the invading army. It is not certain whether the invaders came into actual conflict with the allies. Probably the invaders who had a bad time in Mewar did not deem it prudent to measure sword with the allies and returned to Delhi. [1]

Though a great crisis in the history of Gujarat had passed away, yet Vastupala was not free from anxiety. He was fully aware of the resourses of Altmash and also of his ambitious project and was therefore anxious to win his good-will and friendship. An opportunity soon presented itself which enabled him to realise his heart's desire. It so happened that once the spiritual teacher of the Delhi King was going from Cambay to Mecca. The vessels in which the pilgrimage was to be made were plundered by the pirates. On hearing this, Vastupala had the pirates arrested and property restored to the owner. On his

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1. Hammera-Mada-Mardana introd. VI and also Ojha History of Rajputana (Hindi) Udayapura p. 4678. Is it possible to identify Khappar Khan of the H. with Changez Khan of Indian History ?

return, the grateful man spoke very highly of Vastupala to the king who invited the latter to Delhi [1] and agreed to regard Viradhavala henceforward as his friend and ally.

In A. D. 1221, Vastupala earned the much-coveted distinction of the *Sanghapati* or 'the Master of the Order' by conducting his memorable pilgrimage to Shatrunjay and Girnar. In response to a general invitation issued by him to his co-religionists [2], hundreds of intending pilgrims—men and women—flocked to him and marched on under his protection. As a leader of the pilgrimage, he provided them with conveyances, food and, in case of sickness, with medicines and physicians. According to Merutunga, the religious caravan consisted of twenty-one thousand Svetambaras and three hundred Digambaras and was guarded by a thousand horsemen and seven hundred riders on red she-camels and four military officers of high rank. When the foot of Shatrunjay was reached, Vastupala made a great encampment. [3] 'The ascent of the mountain took place in the morning after his arrival. The first sanctuary that the pilgrims visited was that of the *yaksha* Kapardin. Vastupala worshipped the *yaksha* and sang a hymn in his praise. Then he hastened to the temple of Adinatha (Rishabha), whither the majority of the pilgrims followed him in dense crowds. Vastupala, still covered with the dust of the journey, fell down before the lord of the Jinas and adored him with a hymn of praise. [4] Then, and not till then, did he indulge in ablutions, whereupon the pilgrims followed his example and he and they approached the *Chaitya* with dancing and song. Then he washed the image, in accordance with due prescription, with saffron-water and anointed it with musk and hung garlands round it. The pilgrims, at the same time, burned so much incense, that the temple was completely darkened by the fumes and finally the

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1. Vastupala is stated to have stayed with his friend and co-religionist Punada at Delhi.

2 Jinadatta suri, the famous author of the Viveka-vilasa, was with the party.

3 Tawney, Prabandhachintamani introd. p, XVI.

4 It was specially composed by Vastupala for the great occasion. It has been printed as an appendix to the Naranarayanananda.

Aratrika was performed by the waiving of lights in front of the image." After a brief stay on the hill, during which he kept visiting each and every shrine there and indulging in various acts of religious piety, he followed by other pilgrims, returned to his encampment. Thence the party proceeded to Girnar. When they arrived at the base of the holy mountain, a general halt was ordered. Next morning, the pilgrims ascended the hill and offered their adorations to the holy foot-prints of Neminatha. Having stayed there full three days, the pilgrims returned to their lodgings. From Girnar, the party moved on to Prabhasapattana and thence returned to Dholka. The great pilgrimage was over. The responsibility of the leader came to an end. The congregation then got dispersed—every one went home, praising the liberality of Vastupala.

As pious Jainas, he and his brother Tejahpala built temples, Paushadashalas, Upasaras and other public buildings. They lavishly expended money on their building operations engaging the services of well-known master-masons. Perhaps the greatest architect in their employ was Sobhanadeva who built for them their famous temple on Mount Abu. It stands close to that of Vimala-shah and was completed in A. D. 1230.[1] The temple which is popularly ascribed to both the brothers was in fact erected by Tejahpala in memory of his brother, Luniga, and was dedicated to Neminatha. It is a fine example of what is known as the Jaina style of architecture and in the words of Fergusson for minute delicacy of carving and beauty of detail stands almost unrivalled even in the land of patient and lavish labour. In the year following, Vastupala built a triple temple dedicated to Neminatha on Mount Girnar and another temple dedicated to the same Tirthankara on Mount Shatrunjaya.

Vastupala was a poet of no mean order. His poetic name was Vasantapala. Someshvara testifies to his great literary attainments by calling him 'the godson of the goddess of learning.' Merutunga pays his tribute to his poetic genius by describing him as a 'great poet.' His famous poem, the

1 History of Ind. and East. Architecture, ed. Burgess, II 36.

Naranarayananda, which describes the friendship of Arjuna and Krishna, their rambles on Mount Girnar and the consequent abduction of Subhadra by Arjuna is a composition of great literary merit. The genius of the poet shines forth with all its brilliancy and lustre as he depicts with consummate skill the great works of nature and art and the various passions of the human mind. The new poem was hailed by the poetic world with great delight and won for him the praise and admiration of his learned contemporaries. Vastupala being a man of opulence and position, men of letters found in him a generous patron and descerning friend. Someshvara,[1] Arisinha and many others enjoyed his patronage and shared in his bounty. Being himself a poet, he could appreciate and enjoy good poetry. It was solely due to this circumstance that in spite of the jealousy of Someshvara, Harihara was received with great honour at the court of Dholka. He not only himself cultivated the divine muse but also persuaded others to follow his example. At his request, Narachandra-suri composed the *Katharatnasagara* while his pupil Narendraprabha wrote the *Alankaramahodadhi*. Another author named Udayaprabha composed the *Dharmabhyudaya* in his honour. He founded at least three big libraries at an enormous cost and spared no pains in enriching them with good manuscripts.[2]

Viradhavala died in A.D. 1239[3]—six years after his father's retirement from the business of the government. Each and every body regretted his death and went into mourning. So great was the devotion of his followers that one hundred and twenty of them preferred to share the funeral pyre with him.

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1. He composed his Kirtikaumudi in honour of Vastupala while Arisingh immortalised his patron in his Sukritasanakirtana. *Vide*—also B. R. 1904-5 and 1905-6, pp. 14-24.

2. Dalal and Shastry, Naranarayananda, *introd.*; Ratnamandira, Upadesha tarangini.

3. Bhandarkar is inclined to place his death in about Vik. Sam. 1292. *Vide* Duff, Chronology of India p. 185; Bhandarkar, History of Deccan (Bom. Gaz. I, II, 243.

Even in the hour of their deepest sorrow and grief [1], the brothers did not allow the sentiment to overpower their reason. Tejahpala placed a guard round the cremation-place and forcibly prevented what would have proved a terrible waste of precious lives.

On the death of Viradhavala, there arose a dispute for succession between his two sons, Virama and Visala. With the support of Vastupala. Visala succeeded in securing the *gadi* for himself; thereupon Virama fled to Jabalipura (Jalor) and sought refuge with his father-in-law, Udayasingh, by whom he was treacherously murdered. [2]

It is stated by Rajasekhara who finished his Prabhandha-Kosa at Delhi in A. D. 1348 (Vik. Sam. 1405) that the reign of Visaladeva witnessed the fall of the brothers' ministry. According to him, it was due to one of the brothers having picked a quarrel with Simha, the maternal uncle of the chief. On one occasion, continues the writer, Simha committed a cowardly assault on the person of an inoffensive Jaina monk. When Vastupala came to know of the outrage, he was beside himself with rage and in the heat of passion had the finger of the offender mutilated. Simha made a complaint to Visaladeva who took away the seal of ministry from the brothers and handed it over to one Nagada, a Brahman. The story of the overthrow of the brothers' ministry which is not even alluded to by the earlier writers (Balachandra, Jinaprabha, Merutunga) has not been borne out by the modern research. " It is not possible that Visaladeva who got the throne in Samvat 1295, simply through Vastupala's favour and whose Kingdom was firmly established by him should have wrested the ministerial seal from Tejahpala and given it to Nagada. Visaladeva could not have done this even if he had thought so, as his position could not have been firm and secure

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1. Vastupala gives expression to his feeling of grief in the following sweet sad *sloka* :—

> Other seasons come and go in succession.
> But these two seasons have become perpetual.
> Now that men are deprived of the hero Viradhavala.
> The rainy season in their two eyes, and in their heart the hot season of anguish.—(Tawney).

2. B.R. 1883-4, p. 156; Duff. Chronology of India ; Bom. Gaz., 1, I, 203

for the short period of one year, and the ministers were so powerful and firmly established. In an inscription on Mt. Abu dated 1296 (Vaisakha sudi 3 Tejahpala is called Mahamatya.) The change in the ministry, I suppose, was effected after the death of Tejahpala, which took place according to Jinaharsha ten years after that of Vastupala. In the colophon of a palm-leaf mss. dated Sam. 1303 Tejahpala is called a Mahamatya in power at Anahillapura."[1]

In A.D. 1230, the health of Vastupala began to give way. He was laid up with fever. Probably a change of environments was considered advisable. Accordingly, he started on a pilgrimage to Satrunjaya but on the way, when the object of his journey was within sight, he suddenly got worse and had to be removed to the hamlet of Akevaliya where he was accommodated in a country hovel. His only son Jaitra-simha, his brother Tejahpala and others were in attendance upon him. His life was then despaired of. The great minister was fast sinking. The spiritual teacher was at once sent for, in whose presence he made a confession of the faith and repeated the name of Lord Rishabha with the following couplet ;—

> I have done no good action worthy of being commemorated
> by the virtuous,
> My only substantial merit has been aspiration;
> in this way my life has passed.

Then a silence followed,' Reverence to the Arhats ' uttered the dying minister and with these sacred syllables on his lips, he passed away to the next world. It was the Monday morning, the 5th day of the bright half of Magha Vik. Sam. 1296 (A. D. 1240). The dead body was taken up on Mt. Satrunjaya where it was reverently and sorrowfully consigned to flames. Later on, to mark the site where the body was cremated, Tejahpala raised a magnificent temple dedicated to Risabha. Tejahpala continued exercising ministerial powers until his death which took place at Chandronmanapura in A. D. 1348.

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1 Dalal Vasanta-vilasa, introd. viii (G.D.S.).

Why are the Bahubali Colossi called 'Gommata'? *

THERE are three[1] Digambara Jaina colossi in South India, all of which were raised to the memory of Bahubali, the son of the first Tirthankara Sri Rsabhanatha, by his second wife, Sunanda Devi. These represent him as standing upright in pratimayoga just before his attainment of perfection. The striking thing about these colossi is that all the three are universally known by the name of 'Gommata', 'Gomata', 'Gomatta', 'Gummata',[2] or with an affix 'Isvara' added in honour of the divinity of Bahubali, thus, 'Gommatesvara' etc., amongst Jainas as well as non-Jainas, as if they were the images, not of Bahubali but of some other perfected being of the Jaina mythology known only as 'Gommata' etc. (or Gommatesvara etc.). It is the purpose of this paper to investigate the reasons why and how these colossi of Bahubali came to be known by the novel appellation which Bahubali certainly did not have.

It may be noted here that Bahubali had no such name for himself as Gommata etc., nor, in fact, any other name, for none of the other names 'Bhujabali', 'Dorbali' etc., by which he has been called, is any distinct *alter nomen*. They are identical in sense with one another, the words 'Bahu', 'Bhuja', 'Doh' etc. signifying one and the same thing (bahu = bhuja = doh = arm). It may also be noted here that the *earliest* of the three colossi, viz., the one installed by Camunda Raya (or Cavunda Raya) at

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* Reprint of the article which appeared in the "Indian Historical Quarterly" of Calcutta, June 1928.

1. The three colossi stand at the three following places: (1) 'Sravana Belgola' in Mysore State, installed in 981 A.C.: height 57 ft.; (2) 'Karkala' in South Kanara district, installed in 1432 A.C.: height 42½ ft; and (3) 'Venur' in South Kanara district, installed in 1603 A.C.: height 35 ft. All these colossi belong to the 'Digambara' sect of the Jainas.

2. Gommata, Gomata, Gomatta, Gummata are variants of the same name, of which the first seems to be the earliest form.

Sravana Belgola, first came to be popularly called by the name 'Gommata' etc. (or 'Gommatesvara' etc); and when in course of time, similar colossi were installed at Karkala and Venur, they also were called alike after their great archetype at Sravana Belgola. Therefore it will suffice for our purpose to enquire only the reasons why the original colossus at Sravana Belgola came to be so called.

Elsewhere[1] I have tried to prove that the installation of the Sravana Belgola colossus by Camunda Raya must have taken place in 981 A.C. It is a settled fact that Camunda Raya could not have installed it before 978 A.C; for had it been installed before that date, he would never have failed to mention the fact in the narration of his various deeds (and the enumeration of his various titles he secured thereby), which he has so faithfully recounted in his great Kanarese prose work, the "Trisasti-lakshana-mahapurana," otherwise called as the "Camunda-raya-purana" after himself. This work, as recorded in itself, was finished on the 18th of February, 978 A.C. No less settled is the fact that the colossus had been installed before 993 A.C., as the great Kanarese poet 'Ratna' or 'Ranna' refers in his Kanarese poem 'Ajita-tirthankara-purana-tilaka' (or 'Ajita-purana'), which he finished in October, 993 A.C., to a pilgrimage made by his patroness 'Attimabbe' to the 'Jinesvara' (known as) the lofty Kukkutesvara'[2] (Ajita-purana, I, 61) which is none other than the Gommatesvara colossus of Bahubali at Sravana Belgola. This reference in the 'Ajita-purana' of Ranna is of great importance in that the poet, who was himself a protege of Camunda Raya

1. See the Kanarese monthly journal, the 'Karnataka Kesari' of Puttur (South Kanara), vol. I, August and September, 1927,

2. That the Sravana Belgola colossus is known both as 'Kukkutesvara' and 'Daksina Kukkutesvara' (Kukkutesvara of the South) is amply borne out by the following inscriptions at Sravana Belgail ('Epigraphia Carnatica', vol. II, Revised Ed.):

(1) No. 234 (circa 1183 A.C.)
(3) No. 335 (1195 A.C.)
(4) No. 349 (1159 A.C.)
(5) No. 397 (1118 A.C.)

also,[1] speaks of the Sravana Belgola colossus by its mythological name Kukkutesvara (Ajita-purana, I, 61), and not by the actual and popular name it has had for centuries thereafter, i.e., 'Gommata' or 'Gommatesvara'. The significance of this non-feasance (if at all it could be such) is enhanced by the fact that both the words Kukkuta and Gommata (or Gomata or Gummata) being alike dactyls ('Bha'-gana), the name Gommata suits the metre as precisely and exactly as Kukkuta and therefore "unnata Gommatesvara Jinesvaranam" fits in with the verse as correctly *metri causa* as "unnata Kukkutesvara Jinesvaranam" which is found in it. Hence the irresistible conclusion is that the colossus at Sravana Belgola had not become famous as 'Gommatesvara' till at least 993 A.C., when Ranna finished his poem 'Ajita-purana'.

Now all the Jainas in these parts and in Karnataka as well as the Jaina and non-Jaina scholars who have dealt with the subject of the Sravana Belgola colossus are of one opinion that Camunda Raya, who installed it, had also another name 'Gommata' or 'Gommata Raya'—by which name he has been addressed in the 'Gommatasara' of Nemichandra—wherefore the image installed by him came *ipso facto* to be called after him as 'Gommatesvara' and this name is explained as 'Gomatasya

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It is said that, though Bahubali became 'world-victor's victor, on his victory over his elder brother, Bharata, in the agressive war the latter had waged against him, he took the victory with remorse and felt disgust for the world, the effect being a total renouncement on his part. He stood in penance in 'pratimayoga' for one full year when strange venomous creatures called 'Kukkuta-sarpa' (i.e., fowls with hoods of serpents) coiled all around his body, in consequence whereof he came to be known as 'Kukkutesvara'. When, long after, the colossus at Sravana Belgola was raised to him, it also generally came to be known as 'Kukkutesvara' and specially as 'Daksina Kukkutesvara' to be distinguished from the original (mythological) colossus believed to have been raised to him at 'Paudanapura' by his brother, the emperor Bharata as an act of penitence for his unrighteous war; and it is said that the Paudanapura colossus also was infested with the same hooded fowls, and therefore came to be called Kukkutesvara: the 1st quotation above (No. 234 Sravana Belgola Inscription) refers to that Paudanapura colossus.

1. Ranna says that Camunda Raya was 'very great alike in rectitude, benevolence and piety' (Ajita-purana, XII, 9), and speaks of him as 'the lord of indomitable prowess, who was his (Ranna's) benefactor' ('Ajita-purana', XII, 48); moreover the poet named his own son as 'Raya' after the title 'Raya' which Camunda Raya deservedly received from his king Racamalla IV.—(Ajita-purana, XII, 53).

(Camundarayasya) + Isvarah', i.e., 'the God of (i.e., the God installed and worshipped by) Gommata (Camunda Raya). But the several facts that have been set forth below will suffice, I hope, to indicate that this opinion is not correct.

Neither in the eulogy of himself inscribed on the north face of the 'Brahmadeva Pillar' at Sravana Belgola (No. 281, Sravana Belgola Inscriptions), nor in his Trisastilakshan-mahapurana' (or Camundaraya-purana) nor in the colophon of his Sanskrit prose work, the 'Caritrasara', does Camunda Raya seem to have had the name 'Gommata' or 'Gommata Raya' either as an additional name of himself or as a supplementary title; nor does his protege, the poet Ranna, anywhere in his 'Ajita-purana' call his patron 'Gommata' or 'Gommata Raya'. It may not therefore be unreasonable nor inaccurate to conclude that Camunda Raya could not have had any such name till at least 993 A C.

The poet 'Doddayya' of Piriyapattana in his Sanskrit work 'Bhujabali-sataka' written in 1550 A.C., says that when at Sravana Belgola, Camunda Raya stood on the smaller hill, 'Candragiri', and shot arrows at the bigger one, 'Indragiri' or 'Vindyagiri,' the Gommata of Paudanapura manifested himself on the latter hill, whereupon the said Camunda Raya granted a large number of villages for the daily worship of that god. On hearing this munificence his king Racamalla or Rajamalla bestowed upon him the exalted title of Raya'.[1] Now the fact that in this 'Bhujabali-sataka' the original and pre-historic (though more or less mythological) colossus raised at Paudanapura by the emperor Bharata to his brother Bahubali is called the 'Gommata of Paudanapura', and the fact that Camunda Raya is not called by that name, is evidence enough to prove that the colossus at Sravana Belgola could not have derived its name 'Gommata' from its installer Camunda Raya, but on the contrary, it was Camunda Raya that must have acquired his new name 'Gommata' or 'Gommata Raya' only because of his having installed a 'Gommata' colossus at Sravana Belgola. Thus it is

1. 'Sravana Belgola Inscriptions' (Epigr. Carnat., vol. II, Introd. pp. 14, 15).

patent that the image of Bahubali (at Sravana Belgola) itself must have first acquired the new name, whence and whereafter Camunda Raya got his new name as a reflex.

That Camunda Raya had the special name or title 'Raya' bestowed upon him by his king is amply borne out by the following references, each of which is of an earlier date than the 'Bhujavali-sataka'.

(1) The poet Ranna named his son 'Raya' after Camunda Raya (Ajita-purna, XII, 51, 53).

(2) Another protege of Camunda Raya, the Kanarese poet Nagavarman says in the 'Chandombudhi', a treatise on Kanarese prosody, that "his protector (i.e., patron) is one (who is called) 'Nrpa' and 'Anna', both of which are the titles of Camunda Raya, and of which the former is but a synonym of Raya, meaning 'a king,' and the latter 'an elder brother.'

(3) Inscriptions Nos. 73, 125 and 251 (all of 1118 A.C.) at Sravana Belgola have the following: "Is not Gangaraja[1] a hundredfold more fortunate than the Raya of the Gangas (=kings of the Ganga dynasty) of yore?" Here 'Raya' of course is Camunda Raya, who was the minister as well as general of three kings of the Ganga dynasty (i.e., the Western Gangas of Talakad), viz., Marasimha, Racamalla IV and Rakkasa Ganga.

(4) Inscription no. 345 (1159 A.C.) at Sravana Belgola also says; "If it be asked who at first were the promoters of the immutable Jina doctrine, only Raya (i.e., Camunda Raya), the excellent minister of king Racamalla......"

Moreover, Camunda Raya does not call himself 'Gommata' or 'Gommata Raya' in the three inscriptions on the colossus itself, which must have been, without doubt, engraved at his own instance, and which are as follows:

(i) No. 175.—"Sri Camunda Raya caused to be made—" what and when is not stated (this inscription is in old Kanarese language and alphabet).

(ii) No. 176.—"Sri Camunda Raya caused to be made—"

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1. This Gangaraja was the commander-in-chief of king Visnuvardhana of the 'Hosala' dynasty, and also the builder of the enclosure around the colossus at Sravana Belgola.

what and when is not stated (the language of this inscription is Tamil, but as regards the script, the first two words are in what is called 'Grantha' characters, and the last one is in the 'Vatteluttu' characters.

(iii) No. 179.—" Sri Camunda Raya caused to be made—" what and when is not stated. (This inscription is in Marathi langague and Nagari script).

These three inscriptions, which record the earliest references to the installation, clearly show that neither was the colossus called 'Gommata' (or 'Gommatesvara') nor could Camunda Raya have any such name at the time of the installation.

If therefore the colossus or for matter of that Camunda Raya was called 'Gommata' (or 'Gommatesvara') neither at the time of the installation, nor perhaps till at least 993 A C.,1 when did the colossus then come to be called 'Gommata' (or 'Gommatesvara') and Camunda Raya 'Gommata' (or 'Gommata Raya')?

A glance at the index of the Sravana Belgola inscriptions, (Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. II, Index, p. 13) will show in how many of them, has the colossus been called Gomata, Gomatadeva, Gomatesa, Gomatesvara, Gommata-jina, Gommata-natha, etc. Of these Nos. 73 and 125 (1118 A.C,) which are the earliest to contain this name, have Gommata-deva, and the same mention Camunda Raya as the Raya of the Gangas (i.e., the king of the Ganga dynasty) of yore, and not at all as 'Gommata Raya', though, be it noted, 'Gommata Raya' instead suits the metre exactly. From this I am tempted to conclude that the colossus had already become famous as 'Gommata' (or Gommata-deva), whereas Camunda Raya was not known to have had any such name, or if he had, the fact was quite forgotten. No. 234 of Sravana Belgola inscriptions (1180 A.C.) which calls the image by such name as Gommata-jina, Gommata-deva, Gommata-natha, Gommatesvara and also simply as Gommata, names Camunda Raya also as Gommata.2

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1. Vide Supra.

2. (1) Gommata (i.e., Camunda Raya) thus caused this god (i.e., the image of the god Bahubali) to be made; (2) 'Was it not Camunda Raya, alias Gommata, who is an equal of Manu, that thus caused this god (i.e., this image of the god Bahubali) to be made with (great) effort?'

But as all these inscriptions are much posterior in date to Camunda Raya as well as to his installation of the colossus, we shall see if still earlier and contemporary references are available.

The earliest mention of Camunda Raya as 'Gommata' or 'Gommata Raya' is in the Prakrit work called 'Pancasamgraha, or 'Gommatasara' which Nemicandra Siddhanta Cakrabarti wrote expressly for and addressed to Camunda Raya himself.[1]

Though the date of the composition of this 'Gommatasara' is not known, it is an indubitable fact that it could not have been composed by Nemicandra before he became acquainted with and was accepted as a guru by Camunda Raya. The commentary written upon it by Abhayacandra says that the work was composed by Nemicandra for the reading and enlightenment of, as well as in response to the questions raised by, Camunda Raya himself.[2] As however neither the poet Ranna, nor Nagavarman mention Camunda Raya by the name of Gommata (or Gommata Raya), it may not be unfair to conlude that Nemicandra must have composed his 'Gommatasara' only after 993 A.C. Again in the 'Trilokasara', another work in Prakrit by Nemicandra, which also, as said in the commentary written thereon by Madhavacandra, a direct disciple of Nemicandra, and therefore a contemporary both of Camunda Raya and Nemicandra, seems to have been composed for the enlightenment of Camunda Raya,[3] he is not called by the name of 'Gommata' (or 'Gommata Raya'. It is therefore not unreasonable to conclude that Nemicandra wrote his 'Trilokasara' prior to his writing of the Gommatasara. The opening verse of the 'Trilokasara' also corroborates this fact. Madhavacandra, contemporary of both Nemicandra and Camunda Raya, in commenting upon this verse, says that one of the several meanings of this verse suggests Camunda Raya's supplication to his preceptor Nemicandra; and 'what sort of Nemicandra?—he, at whose feet both Camunda

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1. Gommatasara, Karmakanda, verses 968, 969, 971 and 972.

2. Vide the Introduction (p. 40) to the 'Dravyasamgraha' ('Sacrod Books of the Jaina's, vol. 1.)

3. Trilokasara, p. 2.

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Raya and his king Racamalla bowed down.' This statement of a contemporary suffices to prove that Nemicandra was the preceptor not only of Camunda Raya, but also of his king Racamalla; and the further fact that this opening verse refers to the prostration of king Racamalla at the feet of Nemicandra will no less suffice to prove that Nemicandra must have written the 'Trilokasara, while the king was yet alive, i.e., before 984 A.C. (as Racamalla IV reigned from 974 A.C to 984 A.C.) As Camunda Raya has nowhere been called in the 'Trilokasara' by the name of 'Gommata' (or 'Gommata Raya'), it goes without saying that he could have received that name only after 984 A.C. (when Racamalla died.)

Now, when could Nemicandra have come into contact with Camunda Raya and become his 'guru'? Before discussing this question, we have to turn our attention to another and earlier 'guru' of both Camunda Raya and king Racamalla, who was none other than the famous 'Ajitasena' of Bankapura; [1] for it was he, who officiated at the ceremony of the installation of the Sravana Belagola colossus, and not Nemicandra.

(1) This Ajitasena was the preceptor of Marasimha, Racamalla and Rakkasa Ganga, the three successive kings of the Ganga dynasty, of whom Marasimha is said to have died by penance at the feet of Ajitasena at Bankapura.

(2) The poet Ranna also speaks of him in his Ajita-purana as his own as well as the Ganga kings' 'guru' (I, 7); and further down in the same poem, he couples the name of Ajitasena with that of Camunda Raya, whom he calls his benefactor (XIII, 48). In the colophon to every canto of the same poem, he calls himself as Ajitasena's disciple.

1 This place is in the Dharwar district of the Bombay Presidency. It seems to have been a very sacred centre of the Digambara Jainas, especially of the 'Sena' section, for it was there that the great Jinasena and his disciple Gunabhadra lived and wrote their 'Adipurana' and 'Uttarapurana'. There seems to have been a large number of Jaina temples at Bankapura, some of which 'Hulla', the great general of king Narasimha I of the 'Hoysala' dynasty, had repaired or renovated (Sravana Belgola Inscription, no. 345 of 1159 A.C.)

2 Inscription, no. 59 (974 A.C.) at Sravana Belgola.

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(3) Ajitasena was also the preceptor of another protege of Camunda Raya, viz., the Kanarese poet Nagavarman, who says in his 'Chandombudhi': 'My king is king Rakkasa Ganga, the famous Ajitasena is my preceptor and Camunda Raya is my benevolent patron'.

(4) In the colophon to his Kanarese work, the 'Camundarayapurana,' Camunda Raya calls himself the disciple of Ajitasena.[1]

(5) According to Sravana Belgola inscription no. 121 (circa 995 A.C.), Ajitasena seems to have been also the 'guru' of Jinadevana, the son of Camunda Raya.

(6) Nemicandra himself says in his 'Gommatasara' that Ajitasena was the 'guru' of Camunda Raya (Jivakanda 733 and Karmakanda 966).

(7) The 'Pattavali' of the 'sena' section of the Digambara Jainas describes Ajitasena as the 'guru' of Gamunda Raya (Jainasiddhantabhaskara, Prathamakirana, p. 38).[2]

All these facts, as also the tradition, found in the various works written on the colossus and its installation afford at least enough of circumstantial evidences in support of the conclusion that it was Ajitasena, and not Nemicandra, who officiated for Camunda Raya at the installation of the Sravana Belgola colossus; whence it is obvious that Camunda Raya could have become acquainted with Nemicandra only after the installation, or at most at the time of it; for it is reasonable to believe that,

1 The colophon to Camunda Raya's Sanskrit work, the Caritrasara (p. 103), also mentions Ajitasena as his 'guru'.

2 There are palpable discrepancies in this passage. For Chamunda Raya was not the king of southern Telugu country and Karnataka, but was the minister and general of the kings of the Ganga dynasty, who ruled in the southern Karnataka; and the rank assigned to Ajitasena, placing him eight places above Gunabhadra is untenable because of the fact that Ajitasena having been a contemporary of Camunda Raya lived in the latter half of the 10th century A.C., whereas Gunabhadra lived at the end of the 9th cent. as is evidenced from the verse in his 'Uttarapurana'. Therefore Ajitasena who was the perceptor of Camunda Raya and the installer of the Sravana Belgola colossus could never have preceded Gunabhadra, and thus the order of succession as given in this 'Pattavali' is anything but corrects This, however, cannot affect the fact of the installation of the colossu. by Ajitasena on behalf of Camunda. It is interesting to note that in this pattavali it is clearly said that the image of Bahubali is called 'Gommatta' and not 'Bahubali'.

that unusually grand and imposing religious ceremony must have attracted a very large concourse of people, both lay men and Jaina clergy, and Nemicandra also might have taken some part in the service of course, as subordinate to Ajitasena).

Only three inscriptions of Sravana Belgola (Nos. 59, 67 and 121) mention Ajitasena, and none of them says anything of his stay at the place. He therefore seems not to have made any permanent or even a sufficiently prolonged stay at Sravana Belgola, but must have gone back to Bankapura soon after the ceremony at Sravana Belgola was over, and continued to remain at Bankapura till the end of his life. When therefore Ajitasena had returned to Bankapura, Camunda Raya, who, in the meantime, had become acquainted with Nemicandra, must have accepted the latter as his second 'guru'; and king Racamalla too must have accepted Nemicandra as his 'guru' at this time. If therefore my date 981 A.C. for the Sravana Belgola installation is correct, Nemicandra became the 'guru' of both Racamalla and Camunda Raya between 981 A.C. and 984 A.C.: (for, king Racamalla died in 984 A.C.), in which interval he must have composed his 'Trilokasara,' in the opening verse of which he alludes to both of these disciples of his. As, however, there is no mention in the 'Trilokasara' of Camunda Raya's other name 'Gommata' (or 'Gommata Raya'), Camunda Raya could not have obtained that name till 984 A.C.: and as Nemicandra's later work the 'Gommatasara', which contains the earliest mention of Gommata (or Gommata Raya), does not mention king Racamalla, it is clear that 'Gommatasara' must have been composed after the king's death i.e., after 984 A.C. These facts are convincing enough for the conclusion that it was Nemicandra himself who first gave the name 'Gommata' (or 'Gommata Raya') to his disciple Camunda Raya, that Camunda Raya got this new name at least three (if not more[1]) years after he had installed the colossus, and that he had done it not before the composition of the 'Gommatasara' by Nemicandra. Let us now see why Nemicandra gave that new name to Camunda Raya.

1 If Ranna's non-mention of this name be taken as a negative evidence, Camunda Raya could not have that name before 993 A.C., or in other words, the 'Gommatasara' could not have been composed before 993 A.C.

(1) The word 'Gommata' is also found in Kanarese as an adjective, meaning 'pleasing, beautiful'[1] wherefore some hold that Nemicandra may have called Camunda Raya 'Gommata' or 'Gommata Raya', meaning 'a beautiful person,' 'of a pleasing appearance' or 'the Raya of a pleasing appearance.' But it is not probable that Camunda Raya could be below 50 (if not 60) years of age at the time of the installation (981 A.C.), as his exploits he has himself recounted in his 'Camundarayapurana' (978 A.C.) sufficiently bear out the fact that he must have been already on the wrong side of fifty when he finished it; if so, it is quite unusual that anyone that has left the youth pretty far behind him, and has consecreted the evening of his life to religion and solemn deeds of religion would be addressed as beautiful. Moreover, Camunda Raya was a man of arms, a great hero, every moment of whose life (till he took exclusively to religion) was occupied with some heroic action, and every inch of whose body must, consequently, have been blurred by the scars, commemorative of his victorious exploits; nor was he less devoted to his religion: he was a man of extraordinary piety, as is undeniably evidenced by his several works in letters and stone; wherefore the term 'beautiful' or 'pleasing', which would very well suit a young gallant, would surely be quite out of place when applied to him, nor would the scholarly and saintly Nemicandra ever stoop to give him such a name, as could not but savour of sensuality, be it innocent enough to mean but 'pleasing to the eye' or 'beautiful to look at.' If, on the other hand, the word Gommata, be interpreted to mean 'of a pleasing nature', its application to Camunda Raya would not be inappropriate; but the derivation of the word, as will be discussed below, does not seem to warrant any sense other than sensual, and it can therefore only mean 'pleasing to the eye.' Besides, why should Nemicandra give one more name or title to Camunda Raya, who already had other names (such as

1 Vide Sravana Belgola inscriptions—(1) no. 234 (circa, 1113 A C.)' 'The general Hulla caused this excellent temple of Jina to be built, so that the people said it was beautiful as an ornament to Gommatapura' ('beautiful'—'gommata').

'Raya,' 'Anna' etc.), and not a few titles, unless the new one had its *raison d'etre* in history, religion or tradition?

(2) Sj. A. Santiraja Sastri, Nyayatirtha says, in his letter of the 14th August 1926 to me; that, as the name Camunda is associated with the fierce goddess Kali and is consequently repulsive to the feelings of the Jainas, Nemicandra might have changed it to 'Gommata' (or 'Gommata Raya').[1] But I beg to differ. For the Digambara Jainas need not be told, that[2] 'Camundi' is the name of the 'Yaksini'[3] (i.e., the female attendent spirit) of the 21st Tirthankara, Sri Neminatha. Without doubt, therefore, after the said 'Yaksini' was Camunda Raya so named, and not after the 'fierce Kali.' Camunda Raya built a temple called 'Camunda Raya Basadi' after him on the smaller hill, 'Candragiri' at Sravana Belgola, where he installed an image of the 23rd Tirthankara, Sri Neminatha, in the doorway of which shrine he installed an image of 'Kusmandini' also, the 'Yaksini' of the said Tirthankara. This name 'Kusmandini' is no less dismal; yet Camunda Raya placed her image within the shrine of this favourite Tirthankara, and Nemicandra too did not discountenance his disciple's action. So the association of the name 'Camunda' with the 'fierce Kali,' could not be the reason of Nemicandra's changing the name to 'Gommata.'[4]

(3) Some, though few, hold that the name 'Gomata' applies to Bahubali himself. He is said to have travelled far and wide, between his renunciation and attainment of perfection. According to them 'Gommata' is 'one who rambles over the earth' (*gam atatiti gomatah*). But it is needless to say that, the compound and its analysis are hopelessly muddled, for whence could the augment '*m*' which is so prominent in the word 'Gomata' come then?

Now before presenting my own theory regarding the origin of the name 'Gommata', let me explain how and why Camunda

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1 I publish his opinion with his express approval.

2 But according to the Svetambaras, she is called 'Gandhari.'

3 Cf. Hemacandra, 'Abhidhanacintamani,' verses 44-46.

4 It is to be noted that most of the female attendant spirits of the Jaina Tirthankaras bear the names of the Hindu goddess Durga.

Raya could never be the first recipient of that name and it was the colossus itself which first came to be known by that name.

(1) Inscriptions nos. 242 (1175 A.C.), 333 (1206 A.C.), 345 (1159 A.C.), 349 (1159 A.C.) and 397 (1129 A.C.) call Sravana Belgola by the name of 'Gommatapura', i.e., the city of Gommata. The name clearly shows that it means the city of God Gommata, i.e., the colossus of Bahubali, and has had nothing to do with Camunda Raya.

(2) Verse 968 of Nemicandra's 'Gommatasara' has "the Jina called Gommata standing on the Gommata peak." Would it not be far more likely and reasonable to believe that the peak at Sravana Belgola, on which the colossus stands, must have been so called after the name 'Gommata' of the colossus rather than after that of Camunda Raya? This colossus stands on the larger hill, 'Vindhyagiri' or 'Indragiri.' If the larger hill could have been called 'Gommata' peak on account of Camunda Raya's name being 'Gommata,' why could not the smaller hill 'Candragiri' too be called by the same or some similar name, as it also contains a temple built by him? Would it not be reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the colossus itself came to be called 'Gommata' earlier? A similar case is Karkala (in South Kanara district). The rocky hillock there, on which another Gommata colossus stands, is also called 'Gommata betta,' i.e., the hill of Gommata, after the name 'Gommata' of the colossus itself, and not after the king Vira Pandya or 'Pandya Raja' who installed it.

(3) Nemicandra has not called Camundra Raya by the name of Gommata in the 'Trilokasara,' composed between 981 A.C. and 984 A.C., but only in his later work, the 'Gommatasara. This shows that the colossus must have acquired the name, 'Gommata' (or 'Gommatesvara') in the interval, it perhaps being given by the crowds of pilgrims pouring in, year after year.

(4) The two other colossi, raised to Bahubali, the one at Karkala and the other at Venur (both in South Kanara district), are also called by the name, 'Gummata,' in their respective inscriptions. The inscription at the left side of the Karkala

colossus (1432 A.C.) has this—'Let it grant you every wish—the beautiful and holy image of the Lord Jina, named Gummata, which was caused to be made with great delight by the glorious king Pandya Raja, the son of Bhairavendra, who was praised by the wise.'

The left side of the Venur colossus (1603 A.C.) reads thus—'Timma, the chief among kings, who was ruling over the kingdom of Punjalike, consecrated the image of the blessed Jina, called Gummatesa, the son of Adi Jina (i.e., the first Thirthankara , Sri Rsabhanatha)'.

The fact, that the installers of the Karkala and Venur colossi have preferred to preserve the old name 'Gummata' intact, proves that the said name 'Gommata' (or 'Gummata) of the original colossus at Sravana Belgola could never have been derived from that of its installer.

These reasons constrain me to discountenance the theory or the wide-spread belief that it was Camunda Raya himself, who was the original possessor of the name or the title 'Gommata', and it was from him that the name was transferred and applied second-hand to the colossus by reason of its being installed by him. I therefore conclude that it was the Sravana Belgola colossus itself that first came to be popularly called and widely known as 'Gommata,' by virtue of the fact that it was the image of Bahubali, who again, in the fitness of things, was called 'Gommata', and that Nemicandra gave this new name 'Gommata' (or 'Gommata Raya') to his disciple Camunda Raya, for his having installed it. Now what does 'Gommata' mean?

In the Prakrtamanjari of Katyayana, the rule governing the change that the double sound 'nm' undergoes is laid down as 'nmo mah' (III, 42),[1] wherefore the Sanskrit word 'Manmatha', meaning 'cupid', becomes 'Gammaha' in Prakrit.

(1) The sounds of the dental class, when final in a Sanskrit word, change into cerebrals in Kanarese[2]—e.g., S. Granthi (a knot)=K. 'Ganti' (or Gantu): S. Sraddha (confidence, trust, faith)=K. Sadde; S. tana (in music)=K. tana; S. pattana (a city)=K. pattana; S. 'patha' (path)=K. 'batte' etc.; therefore

1 Nirnayasagara Press edition, p 41. 2 See below.

the final 'th' of the word 'Manmatha' would not retain in Kanarese the final 'h' sound it has in the Prakrit (Gammaha), but would naturally change into a 't', and thus the S. 'Manmatha' = Pkt. 'Gammaha' would become, in its Kanarese 'Tadbhava' form, 'Gammata'.

(2) In Kanarese words, the initial 'a' sound alternates with the short 'o' (as in the English word 'not') sound—e.g., (1) magu (a child) = mogu; mammaga (grandson) = mommaga; magacu (to subvert = mogacu; tappalu (valley) = toppalu; daddi (cowshed) = doddi; sappu (dry leaves) = soppu; mala (a cubit) = mola etc. Therefore it is an easy and inevitable passage from Gammata to Gommata.[1]

(3) It is to be noted that the short 'e' sound (as in the English words 'net', etc.) as well as the short 'o' sound as in the English words 'not', 'rod', 'sob' etc.) is conspicuous by their absence in Sanskrit, and though the said sounds are found in the Prakrit, it has no separate letters to denote the same. Now in the word Gommata, the initial sound is that of the short 'o' and though the same is metrically lengthened by the following double consonant, it never changes into the sound of the long 'o'. So it is but natural, that, when this word has had to be employed in Sanskrit, its initial short 'o' sound would be lengthened into that of a long 'o', to suit the phonetic exigencies of Sanskrit, and thus 'Gommata' would become 'Gomata'; this explains why in Prakrit we find the form 'Gommata' employed in preference, and in Sanskrit the form 'Gomata'.

(4) It has already been said above that the Sanskrit word 'patha' (path) becomes 'batte' in its Kanrese 'Tadbava' form. It will be seen that the final dental aspirate 'th' of the Sanskrit word changes into a double unaspirated tenuis of the cerebral class; similarly 'Manmatha' would become 'Gommatta' (with an initial short 'o') or 'Gomatta' (with an initial long 'o').

(5) As regards the form Gummata, however, it is only a variant of Gommata, the initial short 'o' sound of Gommata having been changed into or displaced by the short 'u' sound. Examples of the interchangeability of these two allied vowel

1 The form Gammata is nowhere to be found.

sounds are not uncommon in Kanarese—as in kodu (to give) = kudu; 'todu' (to put on) = 'tudu'; mogge (a bud) = mugge; more to hum, to buzz) = mure; moradu (roughness, unevenness) = muradu; bogari (a spinning top) = bugari etc. Gommata, Gummata are therefore merely varients and interchangeable forms.

So it is quite clear on phonological grounds that Gommata (short 'o'), Gomata (long 'o'), Gommatta (short 'o'), Gomatta long 'o') and Gummata (short 'u') are all merely the 'Tadbhava' forms of the Sanskrit word Manmatha, meaning Cupid or Kamadeva.

Now, how could the colossus of Bahubali come to be called by the name Manmatha or Kamadeva? Was ever Bahubali known as Kamadeva or Manmatha? Had he any such name?

(1) Yes. In all the works, whether in Sanskrit, Prakrit or Kanarese, Bahubali, the son of the first Tirthankara by his second wife, has been called the Kamadeva (Cupid) of his age, or the incarnation of Kamadeva, or even simply as Kamadeva, e.g., 'Adipurana' (circa 850 A.C.) of Jinasenacarya, xvi, 9; xvi, 25.

(2) Kanarese poet Pampa in his 'Adipurana' (941 A.C.) states, 'Bahubali was the cupid of his age and therefore was called by all the names which Cupid has' (viii, 52-53).

(3) Kanarese prose-work of Camunda Raya himself (978 A.C.) says; 'To Sunanda Devi was born a son called 'Bahubali'; who was the Cupid of that age.'

In addition, all these works point out that Bahubali was taught the science of erotics by his father, the first Tirthankara (Jinasena's 'Adipurana', xvii, 123; Pampa's 'Adipurana', vii, 60).

(4) Inscription no. 234 (circa 1180 A.C.) at Sravana Belgola has: 'Is he of unequalled beauty? Yes, he is Cupid (Smara) himself. May he (Bahubali) who is the very Cupid (Ananga) bestow on us auspicious good fortune' lines 28-29). 'As Cupid he (Bahubali) had formerly (i.e., before his renunciation) taken upon himself the glory of the empire of love'.

To sum up. In accordance with the facts recorded above, and the conclusions thence deduced, I hold that, as Bahubali himself was well known as Manmatha (Cupid), the colossus

raised to him at Sravana Belgola naturally came in an early period to be called as Gommata (or Gommatesvara) which is but a 'Tadbhava' form of the original name Manmatha. Thereafter, Nemicandra, in order to perpetuate the memory of the great and pious act of its installation by his disciple Camunda Raya, adopted for him the new name 'Gommata' (or 'Gommata Raya'), i.e., the 'Raya' who had installed the 'Gommata and addressed him as such and recorded it in his 'Gommatasara' which he had expressly written for the said Camunda Raya, and which he called 'Gommatasara' in order to preserve for posterity the new name he had conferred on his disciple. For, the title 'Gommatasara' of the said work means 'the quintessence (of the philosophy of Jainism, of course) made for (or offered to) Gommata (i.e., Camunda Raya)' in which new title (of the said work), its real and subjective title Pancasamgraha (i.e., 'a compendium of five things') has been utterly lost,

Post Script.

Though it has been said above that the Sanskrit word Manmatha was transformed into the Kanarese 'Tadbhava' form 'Gommata', it seems far more probable that the Kanarese borrowed it from the Marathi language rather than directly from Sanskrit. There was (and there still is) a very large commerce of words between Marathi and Kanarese (for the provinces in which these languages are spoken are contiguous at several points), especially in those far-off times, as is amply evidenced by a pretty large number of words native to any one of these languages also found in current use in the other. Marathi, it need hardly be said, is derived from the ancient Maharastri Prakrit and is thus an Aryan language, while the Dravidian Kanarese is not; and the Maharastri Prakrit, as is well-known, was much in vogue among the Svetambara Jainas. Now side by side with Marati there was (and still is) another Prakritic language derived from the Magadhi (or Ardha Magadhi) Prakrit, which being the vernacular of the Konkan, is known as Konkani. This Konkani (possessing no literature of its own and sunk into insignificance now) was once in a flourishing condition. It is

far older than Marathi which it has enriched with not a few of its own words and grammatical forms. Now the word 'Gomata' or 'Gommata' which is still found in Konkani as Gomato' and 'Gommato' (masculine nom. sing.) is not found in Marathi, except in that of the Konkan and not outside of it as Gomata (masc. nom. sing.), This word is therefore clearly native to Konkani, and to no other Prakrit language.

(1) Skt. manthana (churning) = Kon. 'gantana': here we find the initial 'm' of the Sanskrit word changing into 'g' in Konkani,

(2) Sanskrit 'patha' (path) = Konkani 'vata'; Sanskrit granthi (knot) = Kon. 'ganti': here we find that the final 'th' of the Sanskrit word changes into 't' in Konkani. As another instance of this change may be cited the name 'Mammata' of the great rhetorician (author of Kavyaprakasa) which is also a 'Tadbhava' of the Sanskrit Manmatha.

(3) The change of the initial 'a' sound of Sanskrit words into an 'o' (rather a short 'o' than a long one) sound in Konkani is very common in the latter language—e.g., Sanskrit 'panasa' (jack fruit) = Kon. ponasa; Sanskrit 'bakula' (a flower) = Kon. 'vovla'; Skt. 'madhu' (honey) = Kon. 'mo-u'; Skt. Navati (ninety) = Kon. 'novi'; Skt. rasa (juice) = Kon. 'rosu'; Skt. katu (bitter) = Kon. 'kodu' etc.

All these changes will suffice to prove that the Sanskrit word Manmatha becomes Gommata in Konkani.

Another reason why I hold that the form Gommata is native to Konkani and was thence borrowed into Kanarese *via* Marathi in all probability, is that we find such a peculiar word as 'Gova' (masc. nom. sing. 'govu' = husband, master, lord), which is purely and undoubtedly native to the Konkani language, to be in use in Kanarese[1] from perhaps a very early period. Possibly this word 'gova' also filtered down into Kanarese through Marathi medium. Though at present it is conspicuous by its absence in

1. I give only 2 examples which come to my mind just now: (1160 A.C.) 'King Ereyamga (of the Hoysala dynasty) who is the lord of heroes' ('Epigraphia Carnatica', vol. v. No. 193); (1286 A.C.) 'This King Narasimha (of the Hoysala dynasty) who is the lord of heroes' ('Epigraphia Carnatica', vol. xii. No. 123). In both the word 'Gova' occurs.

Marathi itself, it is in very good form and daily use in Konkani. This word 'gova'[1] comes from the Sanskrit word 'Grahita' (base 'Grahitr') which is the shortened form of 'parigrahita' (base, 'pari-grahitr', husband), just as the other Konkani word 'duva' comes from the Sanskrit 'duhita' (base, 'duhitr', daughter).

I have explained why and how the Sanskrit word Manmatha became transformed into Gommata. But this in no way affects what has already been said in the body of the article in explanation of the formation of the other variants of the word.

M. GOVIND PAI.

JAINISM.*

BY

Dr. Charlotte Krause,

Leipzig University, Germany.

THAT of the Non-Vedic Systems which is, at present, widest sp ead in India, is no doubt Jainism, and that in a form in which both the philosophical and the religious moment counterpoise each other.

Like all the other systems, Jainism too, claims eternity. It divides Eternity into numberless *Utsarpinis*, i.e., periods of rising development, and *Avasarpinis*, i.e., periods of decline, succeeding each other in eternal alternation, during each of which 24 omniscient *Tirthankaras*, *Jinas*, or *Arhats*, arise, who, independent of one another, proclaim the doctrines of Jainism. Western Jainology, believes at present, the two last Tirthankaras of this Avasarpini, *viz. Parsvanatha*, who lived in the eighth century B.C., and *Vardhamana Mahavira*, who lived at the time

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1. Both these Konkani words 'gova' and 'duva' are also found as 'ghova' and 'dhuva' respectively, with aspirate initials; and this is due to the presence of the 'h' sound in the original Sanskrit words which in its elision influences the sound of the consonants it follows.

*An extract from the paper on "The Kaleidoscope of Indian Wisdom."

of the Bnddha, to be historical personalities. It has also become an established fact now, that Jainism is indeed a very ancient doctrine, by far *older than Buddhism.*

At present, Jainism is represented by numerous sects, which, differing from one another in several points, have been engaged, since many centuries, in violent mutual polemics. The two great branches of Jainism are the Svetambars and the Digambars. The *Digambar Jains* maintain that, as the Tirthankaras, on their highest stage, never wore clothes, in the same way the monk should be naked, too, in order to symbolize his freedom from bodily care. This is why they have been called "Digambaras," *i.e.*, the "Sky-clad Ones." The Digambaras maintain, moreover, that, after the attainment of the highest mental perfection, *Kevalajnana* or Omniscience, the body of the saint becomes so purified as to require no longer any food, and can still exist for many years to come. According to their doctrine, woman, moreover, cannot attain Salvation without having been re-born as a man. The genuine words of the Tirthankaras they believe to be lost, and all the present writings to be unauthoritative.

The *Svetambars*, *i.e.*, "the White-clad Ones," are named so, because they believe the last Tirthankara to have worn scanty white clothes, and accordingly, allow their monks to wear the same kind of clothes, in conformity with the etiquette and usage of the world, (The lemon-coloured robe, by-the-bye, which has, since the twelfth century, been adopted by a special school of Svetambar monks, is merely meant to distinguish the true, renouncing ascetic from the "*Yati*" or half-ascetic, who wears all the insignia of the monk too).

Also with regard to the other points mentioned the Svetambars profess the contrary opinion. They believe part of their ancient Prakrit-Literature, the holy *Agamas*, to represent the genuine word of Lord Mahavira, taken down by His Ganadharas or chief pupils.

Both the great sects are divided into several sub-sects, amongst which the Calvinistic *Sthanakvasi* and *Terapanthi* Sects of the Svetambars deserve attention, because, probably influen-

ced by Mohammedan ideas, they arose in opposition to idol-worship, and thereby put themselves in strong contrast with general Jain Tradition and Ritual.

Apart from these, and some other discrepancies, Jainism shows, throughout, a surprising *conformity of doctrine*, which has not been essentially affected since Mahavira's days, and which reveals a splendid interpretation of the sense of Life.

According to Jainism, the Universe is formed by an endless number of *Jivas* or individual *souls*, which, like the "monads" of Leibnitz, are in various stages of development, from the senseless and irrational *Nigodas* up to the *Siddhas* of highest perfection, and of 5 *lifeless substances, viz. Space, Time, Matter,* the *Medium of Movement*, and the *Medium of Rest.* The Universe, which is eternal, has never been destroyed and will never be so. It is governed by nothing but its own eternal laws, and has the shape of a standing man, with the Hells in its lower, the world of Men in its middle, and the Heavens in its upper part. It is crowned by the umbrella-shaped region of the Siddhas, the Perfect Ones, called *Siddhasila*, and is surrounded by the empty *Aloka*.

The Soul is eternal, omniscient, of unlimited energy, and of unlimited happiness. But all these qualities can display themselves only if the soul is free from heterogeneous matter. And matter has, since eternal time, been tied together with Soul, in the shape of *Karma*. Every moment, new Karma is being heaped up by its continuous activity. By this Karma, *papa* as well as *punya*, the Soul's natural qualities are covered and made ineffective. Jainism knows 158 (or 148 respectively) kinds of Karma, *viz.* 5 kinds of *Jnana-Avaraniya Karma*, which, as a bandage over the eyes make seeing impossible, shut out right knowledge, 9 kinds of *Darsana-Avaraniya Karma* which, as a royal door-keeper hinders the king from seeing his visitors, shut out right sensual perception, 2 kinds of *Vedaniya-Karma*, which, like honey, being licked off from the edge of a sharp knife, cause both pleasure and pain, 28 kinds of *Mohaniya-Karma* which, like spiritual drinks, intoxicate the individual, 4 kinds of *Ayushya-Karma*, which, as foot-irons make the individual help-

less in its movements, keep it bound to its respective forms of existence for the period fixed, 103 kinds of *Nama-Karma*, which, like a sculptor, impart bodily proportion, colour, etc., 2 kinds of *Gotra-Karma*, which, as a potter classifies his jars according to their quality etc., impart position and rank, and 5 kinds of *Antaraya-Karma*, which, like a royal treasurer, who refuses to pay out the sum of money promised by the king, hinder man from enjoying his due share.

Thus, the Karmas force the self into its due body, into its due class of beings, fix its life-time, and force it to undergo its due sufferings and its due pleasures, force it—indirectly—to heap up new Karmas incessantly, in place of the old ones consumed, by calling forth ever new reactions and activities.

It is logical that the Soul can get rid of its Karmas by two means, *viz.*, by consuming the old Karmas (*Nirjara*) and by hindering new Karmas to be bound (*Samvara*). The consumption of old Karmas takes place automatically, by daily suffering and enjoying (*Akama-Nirjara*); but self-inflicted suffering, by practising the 12 kinds of inner and outer austerities, considerably aids and quickens the process (*Sakama-Nirjara*).

The best illustration of what true *Sakama-Nirjara* is, offers the life of the Jain ascetic with its various penances. On the other hand, it beautifully exemplifies also the essence of *Samvara* with its minute prescriptions as to the avoidance of even the slightest injury of life, of even the slightest untruth, the use of even the slightest thing that has not been expressly given, of even the most insignificant form of unchastity, and of attachment even in its most harmless form. Besides keeping these five *Mahavrata* or *Great Vows*, which form part of the 5 fold *Charitra* or monastic conduct, the ascetic, striving after Samvara, has always to be careful to act in accordance with the ideas of the Tirthankaras, with reference to his external movements (the 5 *Samitis*), he has to control his inner nature (the 3 *Guptis*), has to comply with the *tenfold Standard* of the real ascetic (the Dasavidha Yati-Dharma, which prescribes Forgiveness, Humility, Simplicity, Purity, etc.), he was continuously to turn over in his mind the 12 *reflections* (as to the instability of

all things, the loneliness of the soul, the changeability of happiness and pain, etc.,) and he has to submit to the 22 *Hardships* (as Hunger, Thirst, Cold, Heat, Insect-bite, Begging his food, etc.)

By leading a life within the strict limits of all these prescriptions, the chief principles of which are Non-injury and Self-restriction, a state can be reached, when all the *Ghati-Karmas*, *i.e.* the detrimental Karmas, are exhausted. Then, the original qualities of the Soul shine forth undisturbed, omniscience arises, and after the remaining neutral Karmas (the *Aghati-Karmas*) have likewise been consumed, the ascetic gives up his body for the last time, and enters *Salvation*. The Soul, free from all earthly weight, rises straight upward to Siddasila, where all the *Siddhas* stay bodiless, but still individually distinguished from one another, in eternal happiness and in omniscience, taking no more part in any earthly concerns whatsoever.

Some of the Kevalis or Omniscient Ones become, before entering Salvation, *Arhats* or *Tirthankaras i.e.* the Renewers of the Jain Doctrine, who start a new Tirtha, *i.e.* community, and become the instrument of the enlightenment and Salvation of numerous people. The worship of these *Jinas* and their idols, as it is still practised to-day, is far from being "idol-worship" in its idea, but it has, with much better right, been called "ideal-worship" for the worshipper expects from his "God" neither help nor favour, but he plays the pious play merely in order to concentrate his mind and activity on his actual ideal and standard, and to find, as it to were, some substantial support for his striving after the far-off aim of perfection.

Jain monkhood is, of course, an ethical ideal high above the dispositions and faculties of body and mind of average man. Still, average man need not fear to be shut out from stirving after the highest aim. Jainism welcomes every earnest longing for Salvation, finds a place for it in its gradation of ethical attitudes, the *Guna-Sthanas*, which range from a completely animal conception of life to the Perfection of the *Kevali*, and allows it to find expression in the adoption of one or other of the ethical *standards for laymen*. Thus, *e.g.* for monks, the practising of

Ahimsa, Non-Injury, is an absolute one, *i.e.* it refers to all living beings whatsoever, to non-doing, non-causing, and non-approving, and to thought, word, and action. For the layman, however, it is only a partial one, by one or other of the just mentioned factors remaining excluded, and by being limited to the avoiding of intentional and purposeless injuring of harmless beings only.

This illustrates the *discipline of Jain laymen* or *Sravakas*, who are supposed to keep 12 special commandments *(Desa Virati)* in contradistinction to the strict rules for ascetics *(Sarva Virati)*, and whose whole life is influenced and regulated according to the chief ideas of Non-injury and Self-restraint within the limits of secular usage and propriety.

It is no wonder that Jainism, the commandments of which are so fit to guarantee the "greatest happiness of the greatest number" not only of men, but all of kinds of beings whatsoever, and to gratify the longing of the human mind for universal harmony *(maitri sarvabhuteshu)*, was, at a time, wide-spread all over India, and has left traces everywhere, in the shape of beautiful Temples of the Jainas, some of them being indeed marvels of combined Architecture and Sculpture.

Kings and princes were amongst the followers of Jainism, and whole countries enjoyed a Golden Age under the mild and humane reign of devoted Jain kings, such as Gujarat under Kumarapal, the disciple of the Jain Acharya Hemachandra of world-wide fame. It was only a short time ago, when whole *Vaishya-jnatis* consisted completely of Jains, such as the pre-eminent Osval, Srimal, Agreval, Porval, Modh, Nagar and other Jnatis, many of whose members turned Vaishnavas of late, for complicate social and other reasons. But whatever may be, at present, the nominal number of confessors of Jainism, nobody can deny that it is due to the humane influence of Jainism alone, if to-day, vast areas of India, such at Pious *Gujarat*, *Kathiawar*, *Cutch* and *Marwar*, are, in fact, the humanest countries of the world, with their various institutions for protection of animal life, their vegetarian population, and their crowds of white-and yellow-clad Jain Ascetics, in whose footsteps enlightenment

and humanity follow, penetrating town and village, palace and cottage.

Jainism has a rich and interesting literature, in which, besides the time-honoured Agamas and their direct derivatives, works concerning *Logic* and *Dialectics* act a prominent part. Owing to the active co-operation of far-sighted and learned Jain Sadhus, amongst whom Venerable Late *Sastravisarada Jainacharya Vijayadharma Suri* and his worthy successor *Itihasatattva Mahodadhi Jainacharya Vijayendra Suri* deserve to be particularly mentioned, the West has begun to take more and more interest in the investigation of Jain Literature. I hope and trust that these efforts will shortly lead to as vivid a progress of Jain studies as that achieved on the field of Buddhist research since many decades.

LETTERS.

MADRAS, 6th Feb. 1929.

MISS ALYS M. M. MISSING,

Gootchie, Beresford Terrace,

Coorparoo, Brisbane,

Queensland, Australia.

Dear Miss Alys M. M. Missing,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 12th January 1929. Even though you are not a subscriber to the Jaina Gazette I shall be glad to continue to send copies of the Gazette to you if you are interested in the study of Jainism. It is not easy to describe within the brief space of a letter the manifold beauties and the sublime teachings of Jainism. Any how let me try to give you some idea of the ancient and the great religion.

1. Jainism is the religion taught by the Jinas from time to time. A Jina is one who has conquered the enemies of the Soul and who has realised God in himself. There have been innumerable Jinas in this world.

2. Time is divided into innumerable Kalpas (Cycles). Each Cycle is divided into an ascending era and a descending era. In each era 24 Tirthankaras (Jinas who teach the way of Salvation) appear at long intervals, preach Jainism and re-establish the Dharma. Lord Mahavira who lived from 599 B. C. to 527 B.C. was the last and the 24th Tirthankara in the current Cycle of time. Many thousands of years are yet to :pass before the advent of the next Tirthankara (World Teacher.)

3. Jainism teaches that God, Universe, and the Souls are existing from eternity and will continue to exist for ever.

4. God according to Jainism is neither the Creator nor the Destroyer of the world. He is not an angry, playful or unthinking being. He has infinite knowledge, infinite perception, infinite power, infinite bliss etc. He is the greatest benefactor of the world. We worship Him not because He is said to be the Creator, Ruler, Judge or Destroyer of the world, but because He has taught us all about the Reality and shown us the way to Salvation while He was a Tirthankara in this world. By praising the infinite qualities of God, by bowing down to Him and by thinking of Him we purify our own selves. Our worship to Him is not to get any favour nor to avoid frown.

5. The fullest, the truest and the greatest manifestation of God is in the Tirthankara. God lives, moves and reveals himself as the Teacher and Saviour of all living beings in the person of the Tirthankara. The Thirthankara knows all things of the past, present and the future. His body is extremely beautiful. Miracles are seen wherever he goes. The lame walk, the blind see, the deaf hear, the dumb speak and the maimed are made whole and the sick people become healthy and strong. Nature bows down to Him and ministers unto Him. All living beings live in friendliness. The lion, the tiger, the deer, the cow, the sheep, the snake, the mongoose, the rat, the cat etc., sit together forgetting their enmity. Not only men but all sentient beings gather around the Lord to listen to His Teachings. His teachings are not for man alone but for all living beings He does not speak in any man-made dialect. He speaks in a language which is understood by all men animals and birds.

His words are sweet, unambiguous and beneficial. His teaching are never self-contradictory.

6. The Universe is eternal and uncreated. It is constituted of six Dravyas (substances) Soul, Matter, Space, Time, Medium of Motion and Medium of Rest. Space gives room for all things. Time is the cause of changes in things. The medium of motion helps things to move and the medium of rest helps things to rest. Matter has form, colour, taste and smell. It is indestructible. There can be only change in the modifications of things and not in the substances. Soul alone is sentient and the other five Dravyas are non-sentient. Matter alone has form etc., and the other five have no form etc. Space is infinite and is beyond the world also while the other five are confined to the world. Time is mono-dimentional while the other five are multi-dimentional. The Media of motion and rest are co-extensive with the Universe.

7. There are infinite Souls (Jivas) in the Universe. Potentially they are all equal in nature. They are of two kinds (1) Liberated Jivas and (2) Unliberated Jivas. The unliberated Jivas are either Celestial, Human, Sub-human or Hellish according to their karmas. Every soul is the architect of his own life. He is alone responsible for his actions good or bad. He should enjoy the fruits of his actions himself. His salvation is in his own hands. Neither Christ, nor Mahomed, nor Buddha, nor Krishna, nor Mahavira can save him. The Path of Salvation is taught and it is left to man to tread the path and reach the goal.

8. The Way to Salvation consists of Right Faith, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct. Right Faith is Faith in the truths as revealed by the Jina. Right Knowledge is thorough, understanding of the teachings of Jainism. Right conduct is living a holy and virtuous life according to the rules of of conduct laid down by the Tirthankara. Every action of the follower of Jainism must be free from Himsa (injury to any living being) in thought, word or deed. "Love and serve all living beings as far as possible. Lead an honest, chaste and pure life. Try to avoid too much attachment for the world. Your soul will become purer and purer and by austerities you

can free your soul from all karmas and see the God who is within you. You will have salvation then." This is the teaching of Jainism in brief.

I shall be glad to clear your doubts and answer your questions if any as far as I can.

Yours sincerely,
C. S. MALLINATH.

REPLY.

RUTTON,
Orchard St., Thoruleigh,
N. S. W., AUSTRALIA, 31st March, 1929

Dear Mr. Mallinath,

Thanks so much for your wonderful letter. It was exactly what I wanted "multum in parvo". After all it seems to me that when we get down to bedrock, in all religions, it is the same God we are seeking, some ultimate perfection, infinitely more beautiful than our dreams of the present, who is it says "Here say to the heretic and orthodoxy to the orthodox, but the dust of the rose petal belongs to the heart of the perfume seller". Thanks so many times for offering to send me the Jaina Gazette......................

Thanks so much for your kind offer to answer any question for me. There are often questions one longs to ask but so few people can answer them as one would wish. Your last letter has given me much to think over....................

With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,
ALYS. M. M. MISSING.

THE HIDDEN LIFE.

By T. L. VASWANI.

Suffering, too, is a sacrament. Suffering, too, is a gift from the All-Giver.

And lying on my bed of illness I have received thoughts too deep for tears. And I have breathed out aspirations. One of them I recorded in the following words :—

My soul ! be humble as grass, be patient as the tree, be prayerful as the daisy !

How humble is grass ! We trample upon it ; it bends ; it does not break ! So must thou be my soul ! Complain not ! Do they trample upon the ideals which thou dost adore ? Do they turn away from thee in passion and hate ? Complain not ! Bless them that ill-treat thee or speak ill of thee. They but draw thee nearer to the Lord. Be humble as grass !

Look at yon tree ! How patient ! The sun beats upon it and the rains descend upon it : it stands in the midst of all difficulties. So stand thou, my soul, patient amid all trials and tribulations. Stand thou, patient as the tree !

And the daisy ! see how each day it looks at the sun ! The daisy turns its face to the morning sun ! So be thou, my soul ! Gaze at Him, the Sun of suns ! Gaze at the beauty of the Blessed One ! And receiving from Him some rays pass them on to others to warm and heal some aching hearts.

Humble as grass, and patient as the tree and prayerful as the flower, thou wilt grow in the hidden life of the Hidden God.

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NOTES AND NEWS.

Mr. Chaitan Das Jain.

We are glad to learn that Mr. Chaitan Das Jain, B.A., Head-master of the Government High School, Muttra, has now retired from service and has resumed the work of the Secretary of the All-India Jain Association. He is one of those who started the Jaina Gazette and the Jaina Young Men's Association which was later on changed into the All-India Jaina Association. We hope he will make the Association a truly representative body and a strong and active organisation. We wish him long life and sound health.

* * *

Jain Swetamber Conference at Junnar.

The standing committee of the All-India Jain Swetamber Conference held on 7th November has unanimously passed a resolution to hold the next Sessions of the Conference at Junnar (Maharashtra)—somewhere in February next.

* * *

Parishad Examination.

The Secretary of the Digambar Jain Parishad Examination Board writes :—

The All-India Digambar Jain Parishad will hold the religious Examination on the 10th February, 1930.

Forms of application can be had from the Secretary.

Arrangements are being made for the early despatch of the last year's certificates and prizes.

* * *

The Late Mr. Jaini's Fund.

Bholanath Jain, Vice President, Mitra Mandal, Delhi and Mukhtar, Collectorate, Bulandshahr writes :—

Many suggestions might have already been made and many are expected to come as to how Mr. Jaini's will may be carried out. We are wholly in accordance with the suggestions given in the Jain Gazette issue of March 1929 and beg to offer the Jain Mitra Mandal, Delhi for item No. 5.

Q3072,N034: N29.25.10811

Since its birth in 1915 this institution has been propagating Jainism by publishing a sufficiently large number of tracts on various topics of Jainism in Hindi, Urdu and English. It has, to the best of its resources, been serving the community so far that even the Government has recognized it as "The Chief Jain Literary Agency," in its last census report.

As Mr. Jaini was one of the Founders of this Institution and as he has been helping it with both pen and penny we are ready to undertake the duty upon ourselves for publishing leaflets and pamphlets in the name of Mr. Jaini as mentioned in item No. 5 of the Jain Gazette on the contribution of Rs. 300 a year or the like.

In the end we hope that the members of the trust will be generous enough not to overlook the claims of this Institution.

* * *

The Nightingale and the Rose.

The legend of the nightingale and the rose come from Persia, the land of roses, whence the lovely flowers are supposed to have spread all over the world.

Once upon a time, it is said, a great company of birds flew to the palace of the Shah of Persia and demanded an audience. The Shah was amazed, but he ordered the doors and windows to be opened for their admission. In flocked all the birds and settled themselves in a great ring round the throne.

"Your Majesty," said the dove, "we cannot sleep because of the song of the Nightingale. Night after night his plaintive voice keeps us awake and we can do nothing to prevent him from singing."

"I see he is not here to defend himself," said the Shah. "Send for him immediately."

The little brown bird was brought in, and he looked very frightened when the Shah asked him sternly why he sang at night.

Then from the Nightingale's small throat came a rush of the sweetest notes the Shah had ever heard, and the bird confessed his secret.

He told them that he loved the rose so dearly that he could not bear to see it plucked. Night after night he mourned the blossoms which had been gathered, and where the rose went, he followed.

"All over the world the Nightingale is singing to his beloved, the rose," finished the little brown bird.

All the birds went away without saying another word !